AN
ESSAY
ON THE MEANS OF
PRODUCING MORAL EFFECTS
FROM
PHYSICAL CAUSES;
OR, OF INFALLIBLY EXTIRPATING
THE ROOTS OF NATIONAL ANIMOSITY
AMONG
THE *NORTH* AND *SOUTH BRITONS*:
AND OF ESTABLISHING
A permanent Popularity in Adminiſtration, by the Efficiancy of Diſcipline and Diet.

WITH NOTES

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora — OVID. METAM.

Tros rutuluſve fuat nullo diſcrimine habebo.
VIRG. ÆNEID.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

AN

ESSAY

On the Means of producing

Moral Effects from Phyſical Cauſes.

IF I am not miſtaken in my ideas of political ſcience, the higheſt act of moral beneficence, which a ſound philoſopher can render to the community of which he forms a conſtituent, is to deſtroy all cauſes of offenſive diſtinctions between the ſubjects of the ſame realm; to create one uniform unanimity through all ranks of the people; and thereby to ſilence the clamours of the diſaffected, to reſtore the kingdom to internal quiet, and to eſtabliſh adminiſtration in perfect popularity.

It is a melancholy conſideration to a humane and philoſophic mind, when he reflects, what an

enormous degree of heart-burning hath lately caſt up, among the South Britons, againſt the North; with what acrimony they inveigh againſt the union of the ancient kingdom of Scotland with that of England; and with what obſtinacy they aſſert, it hath been productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences to them and their country.

It is not my deſign, at preſent, to expoſe the groundleſſneſs of this their ungenerous conduct; to ſhew the great conceſſions, which were then made by the Scots, in the loſs of dignities and honours; nor to explain the vaſt advantages which accrued to the Engliſh by that legiſlative act of the two monarchies. It is my ſincere intention to conciliate, and not to inflame; and ſo to reconcile all mens minds, that the whole people of Britain may be animated by one ſoul, without which no kingdom can exert its full powers of war or wiſdom, ſo as to become great, glorious, free, and happy. I ſhall therefore decline from touching on any circumſtance which may tend to retard a perfect abolition of all differences between the North and South Britons; and exert my beſt endeavours that they may become as perfectly united in the ſame ſentiments, as they are under the ſame ſovereign. And in the proſecution of this laudable deſign I doubt not to receive the aſſiſtance of every loyal ſubject, who wiſhes to ſee his ſovereign the envy of other nations, and his dominions the glory of the world.

It is a fact too fatally verified by the hiſtory and experience of all ages, that moral cauſes are, in general, inadequate to the effects which are expected from them; that neither laws, leſſons, nor religion; neither magiſtrates, philoſophers, nor divines, have power to inculcate their precepts with

with ſufficient energy, ſo as to exclude the too frequent intruſions of moral turpitude into national ſocieties, to the great diſgrace of human nature.

This pernicious effect, I apprehend, does chiefly originate becauſe the efficiancy of all legiſlative, logical, and religious motives depends on the will of man, whether it ſhall, or ſhall not, operate on his actions. Whereas phyſical cauſes, acting mechanically as material agents, are totally independent on human volition, either to alter or to fruſtrate their effects. In ſo ſignal an imperfection of intelectual cauſes, in the generating of moral conſequences; and in an affair ſo eſſential to the felicity both of individuals and the community, it cannot but prove of the utmoſt advantage to apply the agency of matter to ſupply the deficiency of argumentative and penal powers, in eſtabliſhing a juſt morality.

As this propoſition of creating moral effects from phyſical cauſes is a doctrine, both new and abſtruſe, in philoſophy, it may not be amiſs to illuſtrate my ſentiments on that ſubject, by ſome familiar inſtances, whereby to ſhew the inſufficiency of moral agents, in producing the effects which are expected from them; and the certainty of phyſical cauſes, in generating the moſt moral conſequences. If laws were adequate to the prevention of immoral acts, thoſe, who underſtand them beſt, would probably be moſt coercively influenced by their energy: whereas it is a too well known truth, and too ſeverely felt, that the advocates and writers, in Scotland, the barriſters and attornies, in England, are the moſt atrocious knaves in all Britain. If leſſons of moral fitneſs were equal to the effects to which they are preſumed, thoſe philoſophers, who moſtly profeſs

and diſplay the beauties and benefits of moral rectitude, would be the leaſt likely to infract their ordinances: and yet the contrary of this is conſtantly ſeen in the practice of all our Freethinkers and Deiſts. Such even is the attachment of the kirk of Scotland, with which alone I am well acquainted, to the doctrines and faith which they profeſs and preach, that, would the Britiſh legiſlature empower me to beſtow the ancient church-lands of that realm, or any other good ſtipends, in the manner I ſhould think fit, I will undertake, by that phyſical cauſe, to convert the preſbyterian preachers to whatever ſyſtem of chriſtian worſhip ſhall be thought moſt proper by the great wiſdom of parliament. For to this conformity, in church affairs, they have been long and thoroughly prepared by the philoſophy of the illuſtrious David Hume. By the coerciveneſs of his arguments, not only all religious prejudices are obliterated; but even the hypocriſy of religion is ſo far effaced from the clergy north of Tweed, that it is in vain for their preſbyterian brethren, in England, to expect, that, from that motive, they will be joined by them in their preſent rebellious intentions againſt his majeſty: all which appear ſo flagrant in their writings;* from which I ſhall tranſcribe ſome paſſages in a note.

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* Prieſtley's Eſſay on the firſt principles of government, p. 38. 39.—"Charles the firſt, whatever he was in his private character, was certainly a very bad king of England. During a courſe of many years; and notwithſtanding repeated remonſtrances, he governed by maxims utterly ſubverſive of the fundamental and free conſtitution of this country; and, therefore, he deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment. If he was miſled by his education, or his friends, he was, like any other criminal,

Let me now advert to the ſubject of phyſical cauſes, as producing moral effects; and in illuſtrating this doctrine, I ſhall only remark, that, ſhould either a lawyer, philoſopher, or divine,

minal, in the ſame circumſtances, to be pitied; but by no means to be ſpared on that account."

"From the nature of things, it was neceſſary that the oppoſition ſhould begin from a few, who may, therefore, be ſtyled a faction; but after the civil war (which neceſſarily enſued from the king's obſtinacy, and in which he had given repeated inſtances of diſſimulation and treachery) there was evidently no ſafety, either for the faction or the nation, ſhort of his death. It is to be regretted, that the ſituation of things was ſuch, that the ſentence could not be paſſed by the whole nation, or their repreſentatives, ſolemnly aſſembled for that purpoſe. I am ſenſible, indeed, that the generality of the nation, at that time, would not have voted the death of their ſovereign; but this was not owing to any want of a juſt ſenſe of the wrongs he had done them, but to an opinion of ſacredneſs of kingly power, from which very few of the friends of liberty, in thoſe times, eſpecially among the preſbyterians, who were the majority, could entirely diveſt themſelves. Such a tranſaction would have been an immortal honour to this country, whenever that ſuperſtitious notion ſhall be obliterated: a notion, which has been extremely uſeful in the infant ſtate of ſocieties; but which, like other ſuperſtitions, ſubſiſts long after it hath ceaſed to be of uſe."

Suppoſe I ſhould parody this paſſage, what would the doctor ſay to that? Joſeph Prieſtly, whatever he may be in his private character, is certainly a very bad ſubject of England. During a courſe of many years he hath publiſhed maxims utterly ſubverſive of the fundamental and true conſtitution of this country, and therefore deſerves the ſevereſt puniſhment; if he is led by his education, or his friends, he, like any other criminal, in the ſame circumſtances, is to be pitied, but by no means to be ſpared on that account. And here we may remark, as by the conſtitution of the realm a king can do no wrong, and his miniſters alone are to be puniſhed who adviſe him, that Charles the firſt was, according to Dr. Prieſtly, not only to be pitied but be ſpared, who acted in conſequence of ſuch advice; a plea to which the doctor has conſtitutionally no claim: and which, nevertheleſs, I hope he will not want. For, poor

become totally regardleſs of all legal, moral and religious obligation and reſolve to commit adultery with his neighbour's wife, there can be no doubt but that a proper doſe of ſome powerful ca-

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body, his writings happily prove to all thinking men, in Scotland, the very reverſe of what he intends they ſhould. That the civil war neceſſarily enſued from the king's obſtinacy, I beg leave to deny: for it is evident, he ruined himſelf and the conſtitution by what he granted. For although I am of opinion that ſhip-money, tonnage and poundage, ought not to have been collected by prerogative; that the acts for aboliſhing the courts of ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſion: and the act for triennial parliaments were juſt and expedient; yet, when he aſſented to the act of perpetuating that triennial parliament, and renounced his lawful right of proroguing and diſſolving parliaments, he not only gave up too much, reſpecting his regal rights, but his ſubjects alſo: for at that moment he took from the latter the right of electing their repreſentatives, unleſs thoſe who ſat in parliament would pleaſe to diſſolve themſelves: an event which, at that time, was not likely to happen; and which never did happen before the reſtoration made it impoſſible to do otherwiſe; a proof ſufficient that theſe preſbyterian friends to liberty, ſought nothing but to eſtabliſh their own power on the ruins of public freedom. All this appeared, beyond contradiction, during the time of that uſurpation and anarchy, which, under different ſhapes, continued till Charles the ſecond was reſtored.

That Charles the firſt ſhould be charged, by a preſbyterian, "with diſſimulation and treachery," ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary: when the preſbyterian fanatics of thoſe days, aſſumed a diſſimulation, to countenance their treaſon, more atrocious than ever had before exiſted. They even aſſerted that God himſelf had ſanctified, to their prayers, the moſt heinous acts, which God and nature have forbidden. It is indeed true, as Dr. Prieſtly obſerves, "that there was no ſafety for the faction, ſhort of the king's death," nor is there any ſafety for thoſe who are incendiaries of cities, and other outrageous crimes, ſhort of murdering all thoſe who oppoſe their violence, and can bring them to juſtice. But will the addition of the latter crime be a juſtification of the former, and of itſelf; becauſe they were committed by villains in preſervation of themſelves? and as to the ſafety of the nation, it is remark-

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cathartic, timeouſly preſcribed by Dr. Cullen, or ſome other eminent phyſician of Scotland, and taken by the perſon of adulterous intention, would by its phyſical powers, whatever might be the

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able that the nation never thought itſelf ſafe, till they had placed the ſon in the throne of that father, whom his rebels had murdered.

And wherefore "is it to be regretted, by this doctor of *chriſtian* liberty, that the ſentence could not be paſſed by the whole nation, or their repreſentatives ſolemnly aſſembled for that purpoſe?" is an act which is, in fact, a diſgrace to human nature, that of putting a ſovereign to death, who, by the conſtitution, could not be brought to judgement, a thing to be regretted? it ſeems an odd thing, that Dr. Prieſtly ſhould affect to be ſo great a friend to chriſtian liberty, and yet be profeſſedly a friend of ſhedding a ſovereign's blood unlawfully. Even this trial itſelf, according to the doctor himſelf, was not only illegal, but unjuſt: for, it is his principle, *that power deſcends from the people to the king*, and, as he ſays, "the generality of the nation would not have voted his death." His judges were not only rebels to the king, and the conſtitution, but to that firſt principle on which the doctor founds all right to government.

This diſlike, it ſeems, of bringing the king to trial, was owing to "the opinion of the *ſacredneſs* of kingly power, from which very few of the friends of liberty, in thoſe times, eſpecially among the preſbyterians, who were the majority, could entirely diveſt themſelves." The beſt anſwer to this hardy aſſertion, is, Cromwell's own, who knew them well. When theſe preſbyterian friends of liberty ſaw their arbitrary intentions, of uſurping ſupreme power, defeated by the king's being in the hands of Cromwell, and the independents, their own ſpawn; in order to diſappoint thoſe, who had taken the prize from their power, as far as it was poſſible, they pretended their old tenderneſs of conſcience, and remonſtrated againſt bringing the king to trial. To this Oliver, in deriſion, replied, that their conſtant endeavours to put the king to death in battle, depriving him of his authority, and impriſoning him, were ſtill more repugnant to the laws of God and man, than bringing him to trial before the repreſentatives of the people, from whom all lawful princes derived their authority. And no man, ſhort of infatuation, can believe, that

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volition of the taker, infallibly prevent him from that act of immorality, at leaſt, during its operation. Such then is the ſuperior excellence of phyſical cauſes, in producing moral, and in preventing

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either principle, or mercy, acted in preſbyterian hearts, on that occaſion, of oppoſing the king's trial. As to their love of liberty I appeal for the truth of that to the depriving the people of their rights of election, and their uſurping arbitrary power to themſelves in the commons.

The next ſentence of the doctor's ſeems to be unintelligible, through want of grammar. As he has profeſſedly written on that ſubject; and his eſſay, before me, is of the ſecond edition, without mention of errata; I cannot but in juſtice ſuppoſe he hath purpoſely made this grammatical error, when he ſays, "ſuch a tranſaction," (the murder of the king) "*would have been* an immortal honour to this country, whenever that ſuperſtitious notion *ſhall be* obliterated." He muſt therefore mean, that ſuch a tranſaction *will be* an immortal honour to this country, whenever that ſuperſtitious notion, "*the ſacredneſs of kingly power*," ſhall be obliterated. And in this ambiguity, I imagine the doctor hath choſen to expreſs his meaning, and yet to eſcape a direct charge, by prevarication on the words with which he hath thus expreſſed himſelf. From this paſſage, may we not ſafely gather, that Doctor Prieſtley is of opinion, that, whenever a few factious men are pleaſed to declare, that the government of the realm is badly conducted, they have a right to incenſe the populace to a civil war; to oppoſe their ſovereign in arms; take him priſoner, and bring him to trial: that the repreſentatives of the people have a right *to make a law*, by which to try him, and then, *as judges*, to hear, ſentence and put him to death: and thus unite the moſt abſurd of all powers in a free ſtate, the legiſlative and judicial; and all this againſt an opinion of a majority of the people. For the doctor approves of the juſtice and honour of the tranſaction, of putting Charles to death, and only regrets, that it was not perpetrated by univerſal conſent. Such being the true ſtate of this affair, I imagine it may be thought that Charles was not a worſe king, than Prieſtley is a ſubject.

It muſt be allowed, however, in juſtice to Doctor Prieſtley, that he is no reſpector of perſons, ſince he ſeems to conſider his God with as little ſacredneſs as his king; for, in p. 121, he

ing immoral effects, beyond that of thoſe which are denominated Ethic, by Plato, Ariſtotle, and other great philoſophers, of claſſical antiquity, or of modern refinement in the intellectual ſyſtem.

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he ſays, " to mention thoſe religious and moral principles which Dr. Brown produces, as the moſt deſtructive to the well being of ſociety, namely, *that there is no God*; ſo far am I from being of his opinion, *that it is neceſſary to guard againſt this principle, by ſevere penalties, and not to tolerate thoſe who maintain it*, that I think, of all opinions, ſurely ſuch as theſe have nothing formidable or alarming in them."

Hence it appears, that the religious opinions of ſuch men, coinciding with their political, it may not be improbable, that the tenderneſs of their conſciences, for the eaſe of which they have lately applied to parliament, conſiſts in not being allowed to carry into execution, with impunity, their endeavours to demoliſh the belief of a God, and the exiſtence of the king.

Dr. Price, in his appeal to the public, has the ſingular paſſages which follow, p. 39. 40, " in conſequence of having been carefully nurſed and cheriſhed, for eleven years, the ſinking fund had acquired a vigour, that promiſed much more than was expected from it. The loſs, therefore, of the *dependance*, created by the national debt, and of the ſecurity it gave to the *Hanoverian* ſucceſſion, and the adminiſtration, was brought in too near a view. And, in theſe circumſtances, it is not ſtrange, that the policy of our governors ſhould take a new turn, and that the *ruin* of the *ſinking fund* ſhould become no leſs a meaſure of ſtate than its improvement had been."—My conſcience obliges me to take this opportunity to add, that ſimilar meaſures were, at this time, purſued, in another inſtance of no leſs importance. For like reaſons, and with like views, a PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE was maintained and promoted in the *Houſe of Commons*, which hath ſapped the conſtitution; and which may, in time, eſtabliſh among us a tyranny of the moſt intolerable kind; a tyranny attended with the mockery of all the forms of liberty, a tyranny, created, ſupported, and ſanctified by *parliament*. This is, in truth, the *fundamental* grievance of the kingdom; and that patriotiſm, the firſt object of which, is not the removal of it, can be nothing but an impoſture. To this grievance we owe, among other evils, the loſs of the

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And that the preceding mode of phyſically precluding moral turpitude may not be imagined as founded on theory alone, I ſhall not heſitate to aver, that the fact hath been verified, in my own practice,

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ſinking fund. Had the guardians of the ſtate been under no undue influence, they would have been more faithful, and could not have given up this great ſecurity of the kingdom.—Unhappy *Britain!*—how long art thou to lie thus bleeding?—how long are thy deareſt rights to be ſacrificed to *temporary* expedients, and a narrow and ſelfiſh policy?—when ſhall thy *parliaments* recover independance and dignity, and become once more awful to miniſters of ſtate.

But I am in danger of digreſſing too far."

Indeed, Dr. Price ſeems to have done that already: for, if the ſecurity of the Hanoverian ſucceſſion depended on the ruin of the *ſinking fund*, and on a pernicious influence, maintained and promoted in the Houſe of Commons, which may, in time, eſtabliſh a tyranny, which, as the doctor ſhews, in his apoſtrophe and other parts of his appeal, is already eſtabliſhed, what can he mean leſs than, that this ſucceſſion, "is, in truth, the *fundamental* grievance of the kingdom." And when he adds, "that patriotiſm, the firſt object of which, is not the removal of it, can be nothing but an impoſture" what does he intend leſs than ſetting aſide that ſucceſſion?

But, in this place, I would not be underſtood to hint as if Dr. Price was a jacobite; for I beg leave to explain this paſſage by another in the note p. 47, "indeed I look upon the public creditors as little better than a band of penſioners to the government; and it is more than probable, that, had the nation been encumbered with our preſent debts, in the reign of King Charles the firſt, or James the ſecond, the former would never have loſt his *life*, nor the latter his *crown*." This will, I think, fairly acquit the doctor from all ſuſpicion of being a jacobite: but will it not fix on him the principles of a regicide, and a republican? for it is not the change of families that ſeems to be the doctor's object, but the demolition of monarchy, and a change of the conſtitution. Even the revolution does not appear to be much his favourite; for, in his obſervations, p. 33, he ſays, "at the revolution, an æra, in other reſpects, truly glorious, the practice I have mentioned began." Now ſince this practice of running in debt, without paying it off, hath rendered Britain unhappy,

practice, on ſeverals of my friends; the particulars of which I ſpeedily intend tranſmitting to my honoured friend, the preſident of the Royal Society, to be read before that learned body. Theſe papers

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unhappy, weltering in her own blood, her rights ſacrificed, and the kingdom undone; it is plain thoſe other reſpects, ſo truly glorious, muſt be all devoured by this ſerpent, the national debt, according to Dr. Price's doctrine; and, therefore, that the revolution can be of no great eſtimation, in his opinion.

To me it ſeems ſtrange, that Dr. Price, and his brethren, the preſbyterian teachers, whoſe conſciences lay as ſnug in their boſoms, as ſo many thieves in their own mills, in the laſt reign, ſhould, all of a ſudden, become ſo tender and alarmed, that the former thinks himſelf obliged in conſcience, to mention the pernicious influence maintained in the Houſe of Commons: and the others attempt to ſeek redreſs from parliament in this reign. For I think it will not be denied, from the moment the ſinking fund was diverted by Sir Robert Walpole from its original intent, and applied, as the doctor deſcribes, to that of the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty; that they, their predeceſſors, and their flocks, have uniformly exerted themſelves in the ſervice of thoſe very miniſters whom the doctor condemns; aſſiſted and approved all thoſe meaſures which they now decry; and ſtigmatized with the opprobious name of jacobitiſm, all thoſe who dared to oppoſe them in parliament, and to explain their miſchief to the people; all which miſdeeds were perfectly compleated before his preſent majeſty aſcended the throne of Britain. And this truth is clear, from Dr. Price himſelf, that, in the laſt ten years, the national debt hath been reduced ten millions, whereas Sir Robert Walpole, in twenty-eight years, diminiſhed it but eight millions: but if we in Scotland are rightly informed, the true cauſe of this preſent tenderneſs of conſcience, and turbulence of applying to parliament for relief, ariſes from a total ſuſpenſion, or great diminution of that money which was annually given by Walpole, the Pelhams, and other miniſters, before the preſent reign, to be divided, as ſtipends, among the teachers to quiet their conſciences. Hence does it not fairly caſt up that theſe two preſbyterian doctors are regicides and republicans on principle; and, as they are apoſtles in their way, that they

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pers will, I am perſuaded, lay open a new field of enquiry to thoſe lords and gentlemen, who are ſo ſcientifically engaged in philoſophical reſearches for the public utility. And, if I am not miſtaken, it is a knowledge which ſeems to be greatly wanted in the preſent prevalence of matrimonial infidelity and divorce.

To have been the diſcoverer of an invention ſo beneficial to humankind, and ſo infallible in its effects, from cauſes purely phyſical, is, perhaps, the higheſt excellence to which the human genius can aſcend; and the greateſt bleſſing which a mortal being can communicate to his fellow-creatures. And yet, unſuſpected as I might probably remain, of not being the original inventor of this beneficent philoſophy, the ingenuous ſoul of a Scotchman will not permit me to conceal; that as Sir Iſaac Newton took the hint of enquiring into

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are followed by all thoſe who profeſs the ſame diſſention from the church of England. And this I believe, becauſe I am perſuaded the ſame principles will always produce ſimilar diſpoſitions, when the like occaſions preſent themſelves: and what they were formerly in Scotland, I ſhall bring James the 6th to tell my readers, from his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, l. 2. p. 31.

"Take heed, therefore, my ſonne, to ſuch puritanes, verie peſtes in the church and common weale: whom no deſerts can obliſhe, neither oathes or promiſes bind; breathing nothing but ſedition and calumnies. Aſpiring, without meaſure; rayling, without reaſon; and making their owne imaginations, without anie warrant of word, the ſquare of their conſcience. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here as upon my teſtament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye ſhall never finde with any Hieland or Border theeves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with theſe phanatick ſpirits. And ſuffer not the principles of them to brooke your land, if ye like to ſit at reſt: except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife." And probably the advice, which was good from a king to his ſon, may not be bad from a ſubject to a king himſelf.

to the powers of gravitation, from the downfal of a peach from the tree that bore it; ſo, alſo, that I am indebted, for the firſt thought of producing moral effects from phyſical cauſes, to the moſt excellent writings of the ingenious Sir John Dalrymple. And yet, without offending the bounds of modeſty, I hope I may ſay with the great Monteſquieu, after Corregio, *anchio ſon pittore*, I am a painter too; and that the firſt application of this philoſophy to national advantages, is due to me.*

This diſcovery of Sir John Dalrymple is to be ſeen in his incomparable Memoirs, part 2, book 5, p. 454. and conſiſts of the following paſſage. As it may give a ſanction and corroborate the truth of what I am about to deliver, I ſhall take the liberty to adduce that paſſage, and lay it before my readers, with ſome illuſtration of my own. "The genius of nations often depends upon the food with which they are nouriſhed: the potatoe root, upon which the common people, of Ireland, at that time ſubſiſted, while it encreaſed population, debaſed the character of the nation." The propagation

* The world is not only obliged to the excellent author of the Memoirs, for this diſcovery of moral effects, ariſing from phyſical cauſes; but for his introduction of a new way of writing hiſtory, by bringing authorities, in his appendix, to prove that thoſe things are falſities, in fact, which he hath delivered as truths in the body of his work: particularly, in relation to Ruſſel, Sidney and others, whom he deſcribes, and laments, as patriots, in his Memoirs, and proves to be either traitors to their king and country, or penſioners of France, in his authorities to authenticate his hiſtory. But if I am well informed, Sir John intends to recall his Memoirs, and publiſh them in a manner correſponding with the facts in his appendix: for, in conſcience, he cannot well keep the money which he has received for the firſt volume, after having proved by the ſecond, that he hath deceived his readers in the accounts which he hath given in that publication.

pagation of our ſpecies, being a mere phyſical effect, the promotion of which is altogether foreign from my preſent deſign, I ſhall not enlarge upon the powers by which the potatoe diet tends more ſignally to promote that end than oat-meal or the food which is uſed by other nations. However, as a phyſician, I ſhall take the liberty juſt to hint, for the benefit of all Britons, that this diſcovery of the generative qualities of the potatoe explains from what ſource the Iriſh have ſo long derived the renown, which they enjoy beyond all other men, for their phyſical faculties of procreation. But, as the ſecret is now diſcloſed, it muſt henceforth be the delinquency of the North and South Britons, if they do not riſe into equal fame and eſtimation by a ſtrict obſervation of the ſame diet: for, I preſume, that the poſſeſſing of ſuch fructifying powers is not one of thoſe potatoe effects, which, according to Sir John, debaſed the character of the Iriſh nation." At the ſame time, I humbly preſume to hint, by way of query, ſince according to the calculations of Dr. Price, the depopulation of the kingdom is ſo manifeſtly encreaſed from the revolution to this time, whether an act of parliament, obliging all ranks of men, under great penalties, to make one meal a day on potatoes alone, may not be a neceſſary and national meaſure on the preſent occaſion; as well as conducive to reducing the prices of the other neceſſaries of life? but I muſt return from this deviation to conſider the moral effects of the Potatoe, as they are delineated by the preceding author.

It is well known by all botaniſts that the Potatoe is a ſpecies of the Solanum, or nightſhade, which is claſſed among the poiſonous plants of

Britiſh production: but as it afforded a ſafe and nutritious aliment, no ſuſpicion was entertained of its being anywiſe prejudicial to mankind. It required the genius and diſcernment of a more penetrating philoſopher, than had ever exiſted before Sir John Dalrymple, to diſcover, that the mental or moral faculties of a people could be poiſoned by the aliment on which they fed and were nouriſhed. New and marvellous as it muſt appear, the fact is verified by the ſubſequent paſſages, which I ſhall tranſcribe and endeavour to elucidate.

"The rapparee was the loweſt of the low people; he lived in the country on the potatoe root alone." Such being the ſole diet of theſe men, the experiment of its poiſonous effects on the mind is fair and concluſive: for, where there exiſts but one cauſe, all the conſequences, be they ever ſo numerous or contradictory, can be attributed but to that alone, by every man who is the leaſt inſtructed in the true art of reaſoning.

One phænomenon of the potatoe diet ſeems to be very extraordinary. It is, that although it was only eaten by the loweſt of the low people, it, nevertheleſs, debaſed the character of the whole nation: a conſequence not eaſily to be comprehended, unleſs the whole Iriſh nation are rapparees, live on potatoes alone, and are included in the idea of the loweſt of the low people. But as Sir John has not thought fit to anſwer my letter to him on that head, I cannot take upon me to decide whether this be or be not the meaning of that author. There is yet another effect of this root, no leſs ſingular and ſurpriſing. It is productive of conſequences which are diamatrically oppoſite to each other. At ſometimes it benumbs both the mental

mental and locomotive faculties of the rapparee, and transforms him into ſomething like the potatoe itſelf; "a part rather of the ſpot on which he grew, than of the community to which he belongs." At other times, it inflamed his ſoul to ſuch exceſs, in the oppoſite extreme, that "when theſe Iriſhmen enter into ſociety, they do it with all the ſelfiſhneſs and ferocity of uncivilized nature." And, in truth, this is not to be wondered at, when the next particular is ſufficiently noticed; which is, that the potatoe deprived them of thoſe mental faculties, by which benefits are diſtinguiſhed from injuries; "for they knew little difference betwixt friend and foe," which ſeems to be a ſtate of inſanity. Nor did its influence terminate at that point: it effaced all the ſenſations of humanity and affection, not only for other perſons, but for themſelves alſo: "for, receiving no mercy, they gave none." And, indeed, from the following obſervation, they could not ſtand in need of receiving mercy: for one moſt ſtupendous effect of this potatoe diet conſiſted in enabling theſe deſperate rapparees to kill whom they pleaſed, becauſe they did not care a potatoe who killed them. For, "they were always maſters of other mens lives, becauſe they were regardleſs of their own." So that no rapparee could want the mercy of his foe, becauſe he could not be put to death by that foe, unleſs he choſe it. And even this choice was not the leaſt of the wonderful effects of eating potatoes, as it is authenticated by a note, on this paſſage, in the memoirs. "Rapparees killed by the army or militia 1928; killed and hanged by ſoldiers and others, without any ceremony 112, in all 2010. Murdered privately by the rapparees 800; ſo that theſe rapparees, who were maſters of

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the lives of their murderers, did actually conſent to be put to death, in the proportion of two and one half to one of thoſe whom they might infallibly have ſlain, had they not been pleaſed to relinquiſh the preſervation of their own lives, in favour of thoſe of their enemies. This, I confeſs, would be an incredible circumſtance, were it delivered by an author, whoſe reverence* for veracity is not ſo unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed as is that of Sir John Dalrymple.

* I think that no man can be ſo good a judge of his reverence for truth, as the perſon who profeſſes it, as no man can ſo perfectly perceive the internal ſenſation which he feels on that account. I ſhall, therefore, quote Sir John himſelf, in evidence of this fact. "Yet, perhaps, I may find quarter from thoſe who conſider that I treat of my own anceſtors, ſurely not the moſt inconſiderable in the united kingdoms, as well as of theirs, whom I may be ſuppoſed to offend; that I have an equal reverence for mine, as they can have for theirs; but that I have *a greater reverence for truth*, than for either, pref. p. 7." I ſhall take the liberty to prove the reverence for truth which Sir John profeſſes, from a paſſage of his Memoirs, part 2. book 6. p. 488, in ſpeaking of the maſſacre of Glenco, he ſays, "a warrant for proceeding to execution was procured from the king, (William) which was ſigned both above and below with his own hand. This warrant was executed with many circumſtances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution ſhould be effectual, and without any previous warning." And now I think the preſent Sir John had great reaſon to obſerve, that he had, and ought to have, ſuch a reverence for his anceſtors; and that his anceſtor and nameſake, above-mentioned, was not the moſt inconſiderable in Scotland, is evident from this fact, that both law and juſtice were ſuſpended and diſpenſed with in his favour; for, as Sir John obſerves, "this execution made the deeper impreſſion, becauſe the king would not permit any of thoſe, who were concerned in it, to be puniſhed, conſcious that in their cauſe his own was involved." And it is for this reaſon, among many others, I preſume, that Sir John ſays, at the end of his appendix, "one quits the character of King William with reluctance."

Aſtoniſhing as theſe effects may appear, to minds untinctured with philoſophic diſquiſition, (from the ſimple eating of potatoes) its influence, nevertheleſs, extended even to the inverſion of the natural order of things; for, whereas other men are always rendered more terrible, and leſs to be guarded againſt, by being armed, and by fierceneſs of looks, theſe rapparees were the more formidable from being in a quite contrary ſtate. "It was difficult to detect or to guard againſt them till too late; ſeeing they went unarmed, and more with the appearance of being overcome with fears themſelves, than of giving them to others."

Beſides the preceding operations of this phyſical poiſon of the moral attributes, it communicated an inconceivable degree of ſubtilty and of inſidiouſneſs unexampled; for when theſe Iriſh rapps "hung round the cantonments of the troops, under pretence of aſking written protections, they carried the locks of their muſkets in their pockets," in order that, if examined by the ſoldiers, they might be found to have no fire arms.

Sometimes, indeed, "they hid the locks of their muſkets in the holes of old walls, and they laid the muſkets themſelves charged and cloſely corked up at the muzzel and touch-hole, in ditches, with which they were acquainted, and laying themſelves all along in muddy water, with nothing but the mouth and noſe above it, it became more eaſy to find game, than the rapparees." In conſequence of this new ſpecies of ambuſcade, not to be found in the ſtrategematicon of Frontinus, the locks being ſome of them dry in the old walls, in one place, others of them in their pockets wet in the ditches, together with the muſkets, and the rapparees themſelves; theſe treacherous ſavages were thereby enabled

enabled ſo ſuddenly to invade the army. "That bodies of regular troops often found themſelves defeated in an inſtant, they knew not how, nor from whence." And, in this place, I cannot but obſerve, that this potatoe diet muſt have modelled the features of theſe Iriſhmen, of different forms, from thoſe of other men: for otherwiſe it would ſeem difficult to conceive by what art they could lie with the mouth and noſe only above water: or it may be from "the regular troops not knowing how, nor from whence, they came in their attacks, the potatoe, like fern-ſeed, poſſeſſes the power of making men inviſible.

Among the many ſurpriſing phænomena, produced by this ſingular root, there is one, which Sir John obſerves, the potatoe did not produce. It did not make the footſteps of theſe rapparees to be ſeen in the dark: for, "at times, when the moon was quite dark, it became impoſſible to trace their footſteps. But then, indeed, it had an affect not leſs aſtoniſhing; their footſteps were rendered viſible, "by the cries of thoſe whom they were murdering." And this particular affords a ſpecimen, what a wonderful effect may ariſe, from eating potatoes, in quickening the eyeſight by objects which are conveyed to the ears.

It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that Sir John aſſigns his reaſons for the potatoes producing ſuch ſtrange phænomena, in the moral conduct of the Iriſh: for he ſays, "when men obtain ſubſiſtance, without any exertion of induſtry, they become indifferent with regard to their cloathing and habitation; and indifference to theſe creates a habit of indolence in every thing elſe." If we admit this manner of reaſoning, Sir John deſtroys his own poſition, "that the genius of nations depends

upon the food in which they are nouriſhed." And it appears, from this account, that the inexertion of induſtry does not create indolence in theſe rapparees, ſince they are moſt miſchievouſly active and induſtrious. Beſides this particular fact, if the obtaining of ſubſiſtance, without induſtry, be productive of all thoſe breaches of moral duty in the rapparees, the ſame cauſe would have the like effect among all other people, who are equally indolent: and then the nobility, gentry, and opulent of all Britain, who never taſte the fruits of their own induſtry: nor ever exert one finger to obtain ſubſiſtance, muſt neceſſarily be the moſt immoral and worthleſs of all human beings: a conſequence that cannot be admitted.

For, if the rapparee, "becauſe by the work of a few days he could raiſe as much food as was ſufficient to maintain him during the reſt of the year, was half naked in his cloathing, and lived in a houſe, which was erected in an hour," the nobles and gentry of Britain, and of all other realms, who do nothing at all towards getting their livelihood, muſt, logically, be ſtark naked in their full cloathing, and live without houſes. The contrary of which I apprehend is univerſally the truth. For, who are there that ſo much delight in being richly apparelled, or in dwelling in ſuperb edifices, as thoſe very perſons who acquire ſubſiſtance without the leaſt exertion of induſtry? on this account, it is evident, that to the potatoe diet alone the genius and immorality of the Iriſh is to be aſcribed. And I am fully perſuaded, that Sir John Dalrymple was as conſcious of that truth, as I am: and ſaw the fallacy of his arguments from indolence: but being by nature over modeſt, he was afraid to truſt entirely to his new philoſophy, "that the

the genius of nations depends on the food with which they are nouriſhed." And, therefore, obliquely, as it were, introduced the other in its ſupport. Unleſs this were the true ſtate of the caſe, is it poſſible, "Mr. David Hume, who corrected ſome erroneous views which Sir John had taken," could have permitted ſuch ſophiſtry to remain in the Memoirs? It is a common thing in the South Britons to charge the North with being ſtrongly addicted to national prejudices. From this imputation I am reſolved to preſerve myſelf, and to imitate the late ingenious and learned Lord Morton, preſident of the Royal Society, in my impartiality. An inſtance of this laudable quality, in that noble lord, I beg leave to lay before my readers. In a debate, in the Houſe of Lords, on German ſubſidies, in his admirable ſpeech on that occaſion, he thus elegantly, and without prejudice, expreſſed himſelf.

"My lords, as I was coming up from Scotland, I heard, all the way, that there were pamphlets written for ſubſidies, and pamphlets written againſt ſubſidies; but I reſolved to read none of them; becauſe I would not be miſled either in the right or the wrong. This example I ſhall ſcrupulouſly obſerve; and I could heartily wiſh, that every member, in both houſes of parliament, would ſtrictly adhere to the like impartiality, in all their debates and conduct.

As the receſs from parliament is now at hand, the members of both houſes are quite tired of doing good to their country, and all of them are retiring to ſpread unanimity and concord in their reſpective counties and boroughs. I ſhall not attempt to lay my ſcheme before the Commons this ſeſſions: but as I have nothing at heart, but the

reconciling of all parties, and the ſpreading of univerſal happineſs through all Britain, I ſhall print, as it were, my bill; that, during the vacation, every member may have time to ſtudy and digeſt its contents, and be truly acquainted with its merits, when he comes to diſplay his oratory, in the ſenate, on that important affair.

It is a ſingular phænomenon, in moral nature, that John Wilkes, Parſon Horne, and other perſons, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their principles, when united in the ſame ſociety of the Bill of Rights, ſhould every man among them be the beſt of patriots, and moſt diſintereſted friends of liberty, and their country: for the truth of which, the ſaid Parſon Horne was, at all times, ready to dye his black coat crimſon with the blood of all ſuch who might preſume to diſpute their patriotiſm: and yet, that the ſame individual patriots, by the ſingle act of being divided into ſeparate ſocieties, ſhould now become the moſt unprincipled impoſtors, intereſted cheats, and egregious ſcoundrels, that ever exiſted. And that this identical Parſon Horne ſhould now defy John Wilkes and Sir Watkin Lewes to meet him in ſingle combat, and diſprove the truth of theſe appellations.

That real patriots ſhould ſeparate from unprincipled impoſtors, cheats and ſcoundrels is a natural conſequence. In this caſe, as it is unanſwerably proved, by their reſpective publications, that both ſocieties are equally to be charged with the ſame qualities, there remains no doubt; but that they ſeparated into diſtinct bodies, becauſe they were too atrociouſly profligate to be held in one ſociety.

Such having proved to be the iſſue of this ſpirit of pſeudo-patriotiſm of John Wilkes, Parſon Horne, and their confederates, the people are diſ-

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abuſed of their credulity, and are now convinced, that thoſe, who do not poſſeſs the inferior virtue of being honeſt in private life, can never be endowed with that which is the moſt exalted, true patriotiſm, and the being the diſintereſted friends of their country. In conſequence of this prevalence of truth and reaſon, every thing which they now vent againſt his majeſty and his adminiſtration, is juſtly deemed to be malediction and calumny. The king encreaſes in the affections of his people; the miniſtry riſes in popularity; and the patriots ſink into diſgrace, deriſion, and contempt.

Before I proceed to explain in what manner I propoſe to apply the efficacy of phyſical cauſes, to the producing of moral effects, reſpecting the popularity of miniſters, and the unanimity of the people, I ſhall take a ſuccinct view of the preſent ſtate of things: and that it may not be imagined I have had recourſe to phyſical agency through deficiency of argumentative or logical reſource, I ſhall previouſly obviate ſome opinions which too many of the Engliſh, inſtigated by the pſeudo-patriots, have too haſtily taken up againſt the Scots. And here, I muſt do juſtice to the South Britons; I do not find they charge the North, who are in poſt, place, or office, either civil or military, with inſufficiency or neglect, in the diſcharge of their reſpective duties; but with ſuch things as are either not in their power to prevent, or are not well underſtood by their accuſers.

One great objection which is made by the Engliſh againſt the Scots is, an unreaſonable predilection and preference of their countrymen and country, to England, and the Engliſh. Theſe charges cannot, I think, be well ſupported; for, with regard to their country, there are certainly

no people, upon earth, who leave their parents, relations, friends, and native ſoil, with leſs regret; nor return to it with more reluctance, than the North Britons. As to the predilection which we bear to one another, that extends but a ſmall way, to a ſingle clan only: for, as Dr. Robertſon rightly obſerves, "together with their eſtate and honours, every nobleman tranſmits ſome hereditary feud to his poſterity, who are bound in honour* to adopt and to proſecute it with the ſame inveterate rancour. To forgive an injury, was mean; to forbear revenge, was infamous, or cowardly." Such being the facts, I appeal to all thinking men, whether theſe charges of predilection and preference of Scotchmen to Engliſhmen, ought not to be deemed both futile and unjuſt.

As an invincible proof of the great love which we now bear to England, beyond what it was before the acceſſion of James the ſixth, to that realm; but

* For a definition of honour among the Scots, I ſhall adduce the following paſſage from the ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, book 2, p. 33, where in ſpeaking of the Scottiſh nobility, it is ſaid by their ſovereign, "the natural ſickneſſe, that I have perceived this eſtate ſubject to in my time, hath been a fectleſſe arrogant conceit of their greatnes and power: drinking in with their verie nourismilke, that their *honor* ſtood in committing three points of iniquitie: to thrall, by oppreſſion, the meaner ſort that dwelleth neere them, to their ſervice and following, although they hold nothing of them: to maintaine their ſervants and dependers in any wrong; and for any diſpleaſure, that they apprehend to bee done unto them by their neighbour, to take up a plaine feide againſt him; and without reſpect of God, king, or common-weale, to bang it out bravelie, he and all his kinne, againſt him and all his: yea they will thinke the king far in their common, in caſe they agree to grant an aſſurance to a ſhort day, for keeping of the peace: where, by their natural dutie, they are obliſhed to obey the law, and keepe the peace all the daies of their life, upon the perill of their very craigges."

but more eſpecially ſince the union, when we were eſtabliſhed in all the rights, privileges, immunities, and advantages which the Engliſh themſelves enjoy, I appeal to all Engliſhmen, who are the leaſt acquainted with our preſent diſpoſition: and I am convinced they will readily depoſe, on oath, that it is almoſt impoſſible to keep a Scotchmen in his own country, who can find the means and opportunity of leaving it. And this fact is pretty well verified by the great numbers of North Britons, of all ranks, profeſſions, and employments, that are to be found in the metropolis, and all the other parts of the Engliſh dominions.

Before the firſt of the preceding æras, ſo great were the national animoſities between the two kingdoms, that a Scotchman, who had money, never travelled to London to complete his education: and thoſe who had no money ſeldom went into England in ſearch of it; becauſe, through the averſion of the Engliſh, and want of employment, they were almoſt ſure of being ſtarved; for the accompliſhment of which no Scotchman could ever need to leave his native country.*

There is yet another calumny, which hath been raiſed by the pſeudo-patriots, which is equally inſupportable with the former. It is, that all Scotchmen are, by principle and practice, ſo paſſive and bigotted to their ſovereigns, that they hold their perſons ſo ſacred and inviolate, that they are not to be oppoſed, whatever may be the tyranny of their reign. And, therefore, that the Scots are naturally

* "In 1568, the number of Scots in London were 88: on the acceſſion of James, a conſiderable number of Scots, eſpecially of the higher rank, reſorted to England; but it was not till the union, that the intercourſe between the two kingdoms became great." Robertſon, vol. 2, book 8, p. 259.

naturally the enemies of the Engliſh conſtitution, and her liberties. To the honour of Scotland, the falſity of this charge is authentically to be proved by the whole hiſtory of our ancient kingdom. For, ſince the days of Fergus the firſt, who was cotemporary with Alexander the great, and a hero of no leſs valour, military accompliſhments, and renown, which was 330 years before the chriſtian æra, not a reign hath paſſed without rebellion; and more ſovereigns have been put to death, in Scotland, by their own ſubjects, than in all Europe beſides. And this, I think, is a ſufficient proof that the Scots are neither paſſive, reſpecting the government of their kings; nor addicted to hold their perſons either ſacred or inviolate. And Dr. Robertſon declares, "the calamities which befell our kings, contributed more than any other cauſe to diminiſh the royal authority. Never was any race of monarchs ſo unfortunate as the Scottiſh." Again he ſays, book 1, p. 23, "inſtead of giving aid towards reducing to obedience the ſeditious chieftain, or any whom he took under his protection, they were all in arms in his defence, and obſtructed the operations of juſtice to the utmoſt. The prince was obliged to connive at criminals whom he could not reach; the nobles, conſcious of this advantage, were not afraid to offend, and the difficulty of puniſhing almoſt aſſured them of impunity." And p. 2, "by retiring to his own caſtle, a mutinous baron could defy the power of his ſovereign, it being impracticable to lead an army, through a barren country, to places almoſt impaſſable to a ſingle man." And p. 41, "in every corner ſome barbarous chieftain ruled at pleaſure, and neither feared the king, nor pitied the people." And, in a note, which I ſhall juſt

tranſlate

tranſlate from the Latin, for my Engliſh readers, "in thoſe days, there was no law in Scotland, but every man of more power, oppreſſed him who had leſs; and the whole kingdom conſiſted of thieves alone; homicide, depredations, fires, and other malefactions remained unpuniſhed, and juſtice, driven beyond the bounds of the kingdom, remained in exile." The curious reader may, compare this with Sir John Dalrymple's account of the highlanders. The pſeudo-patriots have, therefore, but ſmall reaſon to think that we are, by principle or practice, enemies to the conſtitution of England, and her liberties, or that the habitude of oppoſing kings, in which we have been nouriſhed, for two thouſand years, is to be worn out by the influence of half a century.

The next accuſation with which we are charged is, that the Scots are ſo inſeparably attached to the *Stuart* family, that they are all, by principle, rebels to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover. And, therefore, they cannot be prudently truſted either in the fleets or armies of Britain. In order to determine the truth or falſehood of this charge, it ſeems to me to be the moſt eligible and certain method to apply to the evidence of facts. Robert the ſecond was the firſt of the Stuarts, who aſcended the throne of Scotland. From that æra, to the baniſhment of James the ſeventh of Scotland, and ſecond of Britain, there have reigned twelve ſovereigns. Of theſe Robert the ſecond and third died in their beds, James the firſt, third, and fifth were put to death by their ſubjects; James the ſecond and fourth were killed in battle againſt the Engliſh. Mary was driven by rebellion into England, and there, being murdered by Elizabeth, the Scots were preſerved from the trouble

of

of doing it themſelves. And in this manner, not one of ſix ſucceeding monarchs died in his bed. James the ſixth eſcaped by miracle from ſeveral conſpiracies in Scotland, and probably from death, by leaving his ancient realm to aſcend the throne of England. And the Scots cannot be well accuſed of attachment to Charles the firſt, for they readily joined the Engliſh rebels, and greatly aſſiſted in their conqueſts over the royaliſts. And no ſooner did he ſeek protection from the Scottiſh army, in England, than they ſold him dog-cheap, (as Mr. Hume obſerves in his hiſtory) to the Engliſh ſaints, who murdered him. And when James the ſecond, of Britain, fled from his dominions, whilſt the Engliſh parliament were loſing time in nugatory debates, whether he had abdicated or deſerted his throne, the Scottiſh parliament, in one round vote, reſolved, that he had *forfaulted* his right to the throne of Scotland; which is, that he had not only excluded himſelf, but his poſterity alſo. Such are, undeniably, the facts: and I think they cannot be adduced as proofs of our ſtrong attachment to the family of Stuart.

It is true, indeed, the Scots have been in arms both againſt George the firſt and ſecond. But were ever ſubjects ſo loyally attached to a ſovereign, as they are to his preſent majeſty? and when it is once conſidered, how difficult it is to efface old habits, and that rebellion hath been the principle and practice of the Scottiſh nations, for two thouſand years, can it be reaſonably expected that ſuch deep impreſſions ſhould be obliterated in leſs than half a century? and give me leave to obſerve, that, if the public papers are to be credited, there ſeems to be more danger of rebellion from the Engliſh than the Scots, at preſent. And here I cannot but

but take notice, that the Engliſh objection to the Scots, that they are too firmly attached to the Stuarts is no reaſon for deeming them diſinclined to his preſent majeſty. Becauſe that illuſtrious family mounted the throne of theſe realms in conſequence of being deſcended from the race of Stuart. Beſides this, the Scots are now perfectly convinced that he is the true proteſtant heir of the Britiſh dominions. And they were never ſo ſtrongly inclined to believe the warming-pan ſtory of their countryman, Biſhop Burnet, as at this time. So that, even on the ſcore of fidelity to the Stuarts, they cannot but be conſidered as loyal ſubjects to their preſent ſovereign. And is it not unreaſonable in the Engliſh, not to allow us to be loyal to one king, whom we love. Such are the arguments which I have thought proper to adduce, in order to prove, that I do not apply to phyſical cauſes for producing the moral effects hereafter to be related; but on other accounts of a very different nature. For ſuch is the perverſeneſs and obſtinacy, which John Wilkes, and his pſeudo-patriots have propagated through all England, that not all the powers of logic, the energy of eloquence, the learning of all the colleges in Scotland, nor even the indiſputable truth of hiſtory itſelf, can prevail on the South Britons to change their opinions of the North. I am, therefore, obliged, in compliance with my plan, to ſhew by what phyſical powers the popularity of the miniſtry may be immoveably eſtabliſhed, and all cauſe of animoſity between the North and South Britons be totally eradicated, and the hearts of the ſubjects become as perfectly united, as are the two kingdoms.

In all nations nature hath delighted in impreſſing ſome phyſical characteriſtics, which may diſtinguiſh one

one people from another. The pathognomonic ſigns of the Scottiſh people are, long faces, high cheek bones, and a certain harmonioufneſs of accent, which is unknown in other nations.* Whilſt theſe particulars remain in their preſent ſtate, I am conſcious that no perfect reconciliation can be made between the two people, nor the miniſtry eſtabliſhed in popularity; for the Engliſh, not only

* I am well aware that ſome wit, among the South Britons, may remark, that the characteriſtics above-mentioned, are not the only pathognomonic ſigns of Scottiſh extraction. And may add to that number certain other marks which are to be ſeen between the fingers of the North Britons: and this, by way of reproaching us with filthineſs and diſeaſe. But in this place, I beg leave to correct that popular error into which the Engliſh have ſo long and ſo generally fallen. In the ancient times of the Scottiſh monarchy, "before the introduction of ſirnames, or enſigns armorial," as Dr. Robertſon obſerves, book 1, p. 23, theſe clans were in perpetual hoſtilities with each other, or engaged in depredations on the Lowlanders. It was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh to what clan each individual belonged, who might ſecretly have ſtolen in among them to rob or otherwiſe do miſchief, by any viſible mark on his armour or perſon, or whether he came as a foe, if he pretended to be a friend. This indiſtinction of clans was frequently a ſource of great diſturbance and complaint. It was, therefore, thought proper by the chieftains to fix ſome ſignature on every one of their vaſſals; and on ſome part where it might be viſible, without diſfiguring their perſons. In conſequence of this intention, they prefered the placing it between the fingers. Every clan had its patronimic mark, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, and all the vaſſals of one clan were thereby diſtinguiſhed from all others: ſo that theſe ſignatures were a kind of Scottiſh hieroglyphics, the knowledge of which is now almoſt obliterate, in conſequence of the laws which have been made to aboliſh clanſhips and vaſſalage dependances. However, as I have, with incredible pains, collected great materials for a work of this kind, leſt the knowledge of this part of the ancient cuſtoms of Scotland ſhould be loſt, like that of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics, I ſhall tranſmit an account of it to the

only object the preceding particularities, as crimes in the Scoth; but even their being borne North of Tweed alſo. As if the features of the face, and the utterance of the voice, could depend upon the will of the Scots; or children, in their mothers wombs, be maſters of what parents they ſhall be procreated, or what ſpot ſhall be the place of their nativity.

But,

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the illuſtrious ſociety of antiquarians in London, as ſoon as I can get the plates engraved, which are to exemplify the ſeveral marks, and prove that what the Engliſh have falſely denominated the itch, among the Scots, is nothing leſs than a patriarchial mark of the Douglaſs, Campbell, Gordon, Macdonald, Monro, and other clans. And I have great reaſon to believe, that even the Engliſh themſelves took the hint of marking their game cocks between the claws, whereby to know their own breed, from this laudable practice of the martial clans of Scotland.

And, as a preparatory proof to what I ſhall offer in the work before mentioned, I would aſk all unprejudiced men, whether Sir John Dalrymple could have given ſuch an amiable deſcription of the highlanders, were not theſe digital marks ſuch as I have related. For Sir John ſays, "the caſtle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained according to his ſtation, and as well born as the head of it." Could men, all gentlemen, be covered with the itch, or be ſuffered to enter and be entertained in palaces? had that been the caſe, the chieftain himſelf could never have eſcaped infection. Could theſe men "join the pleaſures of hiſtory and poetry to thoſe of muſic, and the love of claſſical learning to both, and literature be thought by them to be the diſtinction, not the want of it, the mark of good birth." and yet be covered with the ſcab? beſides this, "their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation and the powers of converſation," as well as to thieving. And ſurely, they could not neglect to imitate the Spartans alſo in bathing themſelves and being cleanly. "They revered the great qualities of other nations, and only made their failings the ſubject of an inoffenſive merriment." Surely, ſuch a claſſical people could not laugh at cleanlineſs as a failing, and therefore deſpiſe it.

Added

But, thank heaven! although reaſon and argument are incapable of eradicating theſe South Britiſh prejudices, they are effectually to be removed by the methods which I ſhall ſoon propoſe; and that is, by ſo abſolutely transforming all phyſical diſtinctions of the two nations, that it ſhall be impracticable to diſcriminate a Scotchman from an Engliſhman, by the moſt accurate diſcernment of the eye or ear. In conſequence of this change, it being no longer to be known of what country each

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Added to this, Sir John ſays, "when ſtrangers came among them, they did not receive them with a ceremony which forbids a ſecond viſit, nor with a coldneſs which cauſes repentance of the firſt; nor with an embarraſſment which leaves both the landlord and his gueſt in equal miſery; but with the moſt pleaſing of all politeneſs, the ſimplicity and cordiality of affection." Now, could theſe things, caſt up in this manner, had the ſlander of the Engliſh been true? would not the ſight of the itch have been a ceremony that forbade all ſtrangers from a ſecond viſit: would not the ſtranger have repented of his viſit, as, in all likelihood, he would have caught the infection; and would not the landlord and his gueſt have been left in equal miſery? beſides, in ſuch a caſe, could the ſtranger have thought himſelf received with the moſt pleaſing of all politeneſs, whatever might be the ſimplicity and cordiality of affection of the landlord? and, were things as the Engliſh relate, could it be poſſible that "the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the highlanders, alike joined that refinement of ſentiment, which in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that ſtrength and hardineſs of body, which in other countries, is poſſeſſed by the latter?" now, is there common ſenſe, in believing that the only people upon earth, who in all ranks were of refined ſentiments, could be covered with the itch, "or, that the highlanders, with the itch between their fingers, carried, in the outward expreſſion of their manners, the politeneſs of courts without their vices?" From theſe quotations, it is evident that, as every highlander had theſe ſignatures between his fingers, it is impoſſible they could be otherwiſe than hieroglyphics, intended to diſtinguiſh the clans from one another, and not that filthy diſeaſe which the South Britons denominate the itch.

each individual is a native, all ancient animoſities muſt ceaſe, all objections be annihilate, and the miniſtry become univerſally eſteemed and popular.

In order to accompliſh this deſirable end, great alterations are to be made, either on the North Britons, to make them like the South; on the South, to make them like the North; or on both to bring them to a certain medium of ſimilitude: ſo that all the phyſical inſignia, by which one nation is to be known from the other, ſhall be utterly indiſtinguiſhable.

And, in this place, I cannot but obſerve, as Scotland was a ſingle kingdom, under one mighty monarch, when England was divided into ſeven ſmall realms, or an heptarchy, under ſo many Saxon conquerors;* as the pedigrees of our nobles† are as ancient as the monarchy itſelf, and thoſe of the Engliſh can extend no farther back than the Norman conqueſt; that, according to the laws of all civilized nations, and thoſe rules of precedency which are eſtabliſhed between kingdoms, that the South Britons ſhould comply with undergoing all thoſe phyſical alterations which are neceſſary to be made, in order to reduce both people to an indiſtinguiſhable ſtate.

But as I am perſuaded that no arguments can prevail on the Engliſh to ſubmit to that diſcipline and diet, which are neceſſary to accompliſh my deſign; as the glory of his majeſty, the peace and

* "England, when conquered by the Saxons, being divided by them into many ſmall kingdoms, was in no condition to extend its dominion over Scotland, united at that time under one monarch." Robertſon, book 1, p. 7.

† The family of Campbel began in 404, half a century before the Saxons conquered Kent; that of Douglas in 770, during the heptarchy. Vide Anderſon's genealogical tables.

happineſs of Britain, and the ceſſation of all clamour againſt adminiſtration entirely depend on the accompliſhing of what I ſhall propoſe, I ſhall wave all claim of preference, ariſing to the Scots, from antiquity of empire, and ancient genealogy of their nobles. And here I freely confeſs, that I may ſeemingly be charged with great diſregard to the ancient kingdoms of Scotland, and with a traiterous intent to ſacrifice the glory of my native country to that of England: ſince it is certain, that at the union, the Engliſh, conſcious of our right of preference, gave us every earthly advantage and emolument, without deriving one to themſelves: a generoſity which ought to be repaid, on our parts, and which is not yet performed.

On this account, and as the ſeat of empire is removed from Edinburgh to London, as the money, with which the Scots are paid their ſalaries and penſions, is raiſed on the Engliſh alone, I ſhall ſtick to my impartiality, and boldly declare, that the Scottiſh ſubjects ought to conform and ſubmit to thoſe alterations which are expedient for eradicating all national diſtinctions; and reſign all their claims of preference from antiquity and honour, without expecting any farther advantages than the continuation of thoſe which they already enjoy. And in this voluntary reſignation of national honour and precedency, I doubt not, but I ſhall be followed by all my countrymen. For the Scots, ſince they have taſted the ſweets of the union, begin to lay aſide their ancient pride of families, and to think ſomething like the Engliſh, that riches are preferable to honour and ancient pedigrees. And this reſignation of claim will be a ſacrifice, the more meritorious, as no nation hath ever been ſo averſe

averſe from being influenced by motives of money and ſelf-intereſt as the Scotch is known to be.

Preliminaries being thus far ſettled, I proceed to my propoſition of rendering the Scottiſh ſubjects indiſtinguiſhable from the Engliſh. And from the phyſical characteriſtics of the North Britons, already mentioned, it manifeſtly appears, that the transformations which are neceſſary for that ſalutary purpoſe, are only to change their faces and to alter their accent.

And in this place my reverence for truth will not permit me to deny that, on the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne of Britain; more particularly when that arch rebel John Wilkes ſeemed to threaten inſurrection in the metropolis, and moſt groſsly abuſed our ſovereign and the Scottiſh nation, the zeal of my countrymen did precipitate them ſo ſuddenly into England, in defence of his majeſty, that even the uſual preparations for going South were neglected. And ſuch were their numbers, and ſo diſtinguiſhable the marks of that country, from whence they came, that the pſeudo-patriots did unanimouſly affirm, that all Scotland was come up for poſt and penſion. This falſity, it ſhould ſeem, the Engliſh did too readily believe; and it gave them no little diſpleaſure: for, they obſtinately perſiſted in averring that this extraordinary coming up did not ariſe from the ſole motive of loyalty to our king, void of all intereſted views.

In order, therefore, to prevent ſuch numerous migrations for the future, and the like ſentiments from ariſing in the minds of the Engliſh; to obliterate all national diſtinctions; to ſpread unanimity and concord, and to prevent the ancient kingdom of Scotland, alſo, from being depopulate, I

humbly propoſe, that large and commodious colleges be erected on all the borders, North of Tweed, where the Scottiſh emigrants do uſually paſs: and in all the ſea-ports from whence they ſhip themſelves for the metropolis of England. That theſe colleges be accomodated with apartments fit to receive the nobility, heads of clans, lairds, gentry, practitioners in phyſic and ſurgery, authors, pedlars, gardeners, and all ranks of the Scottiſh nation.* And, in order to prevent South Briton from being overſtocked with Scotchmen, and North Britain from abſolutely becoming deſart by ſuch numerous migrations, as have gone South for theſe eleven years by-paſt; and, moreover, as the love of England is become ſo ſtrong in the hearts of the Scots, that not a man is willing to remain in his native country,† I would humbly propoſe, that the number of individuals, to be annually admitted into theſe colleges, be fixed by parliament. And that each of theſe claſſes, abovementioned, that is, the nobility, and others, among themſelves, do caſt lots who ſhall receive that benefit.

I would humbly propoſe, alſo, that theſe colleges be erected by the Adelphi architects, who, being natives of Scotland, will probably take ſpecial

* By the ancient laws of Scotland, offenders were baniſhed into England: but ſince the union, the penalty, becoming an encouragement to the crime, that law is no longer carried into execution.

† It was comically obſerved, in one of the news-papers, ſome time ſince, as a piece of pleaſantry, on this affection of the Scots for England, that it had even infected the ſmalleſt animals of Scotland: for, ſays the writer, if you put a Scottiſh louſe on a ſheet of paper at Edinburgh, he always travels South, which I think is no bad ridicule on ſuch Scots as are ſo very fond of leaving their native country.

cial care that theſe buildings be properly and ſubſtantially finiſhed. And as I am in doubt whether the voluntary contributions of the Scottiſh ſubjects may furniſh money ſufficient for the expence, it may be the more requiſite to employ theſe gentlemen, who have intereſt enough in parliament, to obtain a lottery for the payment of it. And this mode of raiſing the money will render the undertaking leſs obnoxious to the Engliſh, who are always well pleaſed with every opportunity of contributing to the public charges, provided the chance be a thouſand to one that they do not win a prize of greater value than the price of the ticket; and of three to one that they loſe the prime coſt.

It is a well known thing that thoſe perſons, who are ſkilled in the art of faſhioning horſes, can by means of diet, cloathing and compreſs, not only remove the old fleſh from thoſe parts in which it ought not to be in ſuch abundance; but diſpoſe the new and increaſing fleſh in ſuch a manner, and to ſuch parts as they pleaſe; and by theſe means give a new ſhape to the whole animal, ſo that he ſhall not be known for the ſame creature. I have great reaſon to believe, that, by the like treatment, ſimilar effects may be produced on the North Britons. And to this perſuaſion I am the more readily induced, becauſe, both the man and the quadruped are chiefly nouriſhed by the ſame provender.* And as the converting of noxious ſubjects to the good of the community does evidently conſtitute

* It is commonly ſaid that the highlanders live upon oats alone; but that this is not true I ſhall quote Dr. William Alexander's experimental enquiry, p. 195. "In ſome parts of

conſtitute one of the great excellencies of legiſlature, I humbly propoſe that the miniſtry, as one great means of creating their popularity, ſhall get it enacted by parliament, that the members of the jockey club; and all ſuch as have devoted their meditations to the ſtudy of horſes, be appointed, with proper penſions and degrees of honour, to ſuperintend the diſcipline and diet of my countrymen, according to their ranks and diſtinctions, as they are previouſly related.

In conſequence of the application of this ſcience, in diſcipline and diet, it cannot be doubted, but that

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of the highlands of Scotland, where the farmers rent large tracts of uncultivated mountains, a ſheep that happens to die, either of diſeaſe or ſtreſs of weather, often lies till it is entirely rotten, before it be diſcovered by the Shepherd; but if he happens to find it before it be in its laſt ſtage of putrefaction, he carries it home on his ſhoulders, ſkins it, and delivers it to the landlady, who makes it into broth, and this broth and the fleſh is uſed by the family, though both generally ſmell ſo much, that a perſon, of any delicacy, cannot enter the houſe where they are: nay, ſometimes, when the fleſh of the ſheep is judged rather too putrid for immediate uſe, they cut the body into four quarters, lay theſe in a rivulet, and faſten them with cords or ſtones, for a day or two, then take them out and dreſs them as before. And yet, though this food is frequently uſed by them, during the winter and ſpring ſeaſons, they are a more healthy people than the inhabitants of better cultivated countries, who live in a more decent and cleanly manner." It was on theſe occaſions of finding a rotten ſheep, as I preſume, that Sir John Dalrymple ſays, the highlanders "were proud to give that hoſpitality to ſtrangers which they had not received, and to humble the perſons, who had thought of them with contempt, by ſhewing how little they deſerved it." I have a notion that this broth, like ſome of their other highland cuſtoms, was eaten in imitation of the Lacedemonian black broth, otherwiſe it may be difficult to reconcile Sir John's elegant deſcription of the highland manners and claſſical politeneſs, with Dr. Alexander's account of their feeding on ſtinking mutton.

that the new and increaſing fleſh of every North Briton, may be ſo diſpoſed on the cheeks, that the bones ſhall be entirely concealed; the latitudinal diameter of the face actually increaſed; and the longitudinal ſo apparently diminiſhed, that their countenances ſhall become altogether indiſtinguiſhable from the genuine rotundity of an Engliſh phyſiognomy.

It is univerſally allowed alſo, that the ſcience of jockey-ſhip is of a very myſterious nature; that ſtrict morality forms no one part of that ſpecies of philoſophy; and that its excellence conſiſts, no leſs, in defeating the purpoſes of other jockeys, than in obtaining their own. And, as theft, when undiſcovered, was deemed a virtue in the Spartan common-wealth, ſo inſidiouſneſs, circumvention, and deceit are the qualities which moſt conſpicuouſly exalt the character of a jockey, and conſtitute the moſt laudable inſtitutes of that modern ſociety. On this account, I hope I ſhall not be accuſed of national partiality, if I propoſe, that none but jockeys, of Scottiſh birth, be entruſted with this important duty of metamorphoſing North Britiſh faces into Engliſh ſimilitudes. For, without that precaution, I ſhould apprehend, that the preſent prejudice againſt the North Britons, and the principles of a jockey, may not improbably tempt the Engliſh to diſplay their talents of deceit, and to diſpoſe the encreaſing fleſh of the North Britons in ſuch a manner, ſo as to lengthen what ſhould be ſhortened, and to ſhorten what ſhould be lengthened; and thereby diſappoint the happy and national event of rendering the union perfect, which is the ſole object of my propoſition.

To the acquirement of this ſcience I am happy to find, that Sir John Dalrymple joins with me in thinking

thinking that the genius and morality of the highlanders, at leaſt, are not averſe. For, as he judiciouſly obſerves, "what we call theft and rapine, they name right and juſtice." And it is well known, that nothing ſo effectually prepares a ſtudent, on the turf, to become a compleat jockey, as being bred a thief from his cradle. However, I could have wiſhed, that Sir John had aſcribed this diſpoſition of his countrymen to eating oatmeal, as he does that of the Iriſh to the potatoe diet: for, as it now ſtands in his admirable Memoirs, it hath too much the appearance of their being thieves, by education, principle and inheritance. And I am in ſome heſitation, whether thoſe Engliſh, who are not jockeys, will be of opinion, that thieving is not an act of immorality; becauſe the highlanders think that it is both right and juſt.

I come now to the next thing to be conſidered, which is, the conforming of the Scottiſh organs of ſpeech to the ſuſceptibility of Engliſh pronunciation. It is a juſt obſervation of the learned author, above-mentioned, on the highlanders; and it is equally applicable to all the people of Scotland, "that the want of a good, and even of a fine ear for muſic, is almoſt unknown among them: becauſe it was kept in continual practice among the multitude, from paſſion; but by the wiſer few, becauſe they knew that the love of muſic both heightened the courage and ſoftened the tempers of their people." The ſpeedily acquiring the tone, cadence, emphaſis and accent of different languages, is no leſs a characteriſtic of a fine ear for muſic, than that of catching the air and notes of a ſong, on hearing them a few times repeated. And with reſpect to theſe talents, of facility in pronouncing languages, the Scots are univerſally eſteemed

teemed to be the very mocking birds of all nations. For, of what country do the people ſo ſuddenly forget their mother accent, and ſo compleatly adopt, either the roughneſs of the Engliſh, or the cantabile of the Italian. Let but a Scotchman reſide a few weeks in England or other realm, and his manner of pronouncing the language of it is imperceptible, by his own countrymen, from that of the natives.

With a view, therefore, of accompliſhing both the transformation of viſage, and the pronunciation of my countrymen, at the ſame time, I propoſe, that thoſe who are going through their courſes of diſcipline and diet, ſhall, in like manner, be under the tuition of language maſters, to modulate their mode of vocal utterance. And with deſign to avoid all cauſe of altercation, between the preceptors and their ſtudents, on ſuſpicion that the former, were they Engliſh, might not diſcharge their duty with proper diligence, I propoſe, that thoſe only ſhall teach the Engliſh mode of pronunciation, who, born in Scotland, have been maſters of ſchools and academies in England, until they have loſt every mark of Scottiſh accent. Of theſe there are, undoubtedly, great numbers in South Briton, who otherwiſe would not preſume to teach the Engliſh tongue to the natives themſelves.* And that no un-

* At this time Mr. Herries, a gentleman born and bred in Scotland, is inſtructing, by his lectures and his writings, the inhabitants of London, and the ſtudents of Oxford and Cambridge, in the true method of pronouncing their own language; a thing, the like of which could never have been attempted by a Scotchman, who is naturally over modeſt, unleſs he thought himſelf a greater maſter of the Engliſh language than the Engliſh themſelves.

unqualified perſon may hope to be accepted, on theſe national occaſions, I truſt, my honoured friend, the preſident of the royal ſociety, will condeſcend to examine the accent of the candidates for the preceding employments. For a philoſopher is always the beſt judge of thoſe qualities in others, for which he is himſelf moſt remarkable in poſſeſſing.

Things being thus far advanced, I could wiſh to have it enacted by parliament, that whoever, among the jockey preceptors, or language maſters, ſhall permit a ſtudent of theſe colleges to paſs the borders, or to ſhip himſelf for South Britain, before his phyſiognomy and accent be indiſtinguiſhable from thoſe of the Engliſh, that the ſaid preceptor, or maſter, be diſmiſſed from his poſt, and rendered incapable of enjoying any other; that the former be whipped out of all jockey company, and not preſume, but under a ſevere penalty, to appear at any horſe race; that the latter, under like terms, ſhall not be permitted to keep either ſchool or academy in Scotland. And, in like manner, ſhould any ſtudent of theſe colleges, noble or otherwiſe, eſcape from his preceptors, into England, before his organs of ſpeech be formed to the accent, and his face to the features of the Engliſh, that he ſhall be deemed a rebel to his king, an enemy to his native country, be incapable of receiving either poſt or place, civil or military, in England; and be abſolutely interdicted from returning to the ſaid colleges, and deriving any benefit from thoſe ſeminaries of transformation. For, in all caſes of ſuch national concern, no preference nor partiality ſhould be ſhewn to any rank of men, who may preſume ſo atrociouſly to offend the laws, and diſregard the welfare of their country.

And

And in this place I cannot refrain from exhorting my fellow countrymen to ſhew a glorious example to the Engliſh, of their being reſolved to eradicate all national diſtinctions, by complying with the preceding eſtabliſhments. And, I am confidently aſſured, from the beſt authority, that the Engliſh members of parliament, will heartily join in paſſing a law to this intent; and even that the Engliſh people, in general, will be perfectly reconciled to the natives of North Britain; and willingly comply with their enjoying any poſt, place, or penſion, whatſoever, in England; always provided, that they remain to be ſtudents in one or other of theſe colleges, until the features of their faces, and the accents of their voices become indiſtinguiſhable from thoſe of the Engliſh. And, as an impartial man, I cannot but allow, that this is no unreaſonable expectation on the ſide of the South Britons.

In this manner, animated by the love of Britain, and void of all intereſted views, I have honeſtly laid my thoughts, on this national and important ſubject, before the public. And I flatter myſelf, that from the phyſical cauſes, above related, that the moral effects, which I propoſe, will inevitably follow. That his majeſty will become the moſt great and glorious of all earthly monarchs; his miniſtry the moſt popular that ever held the helm of ſtate; all national diſtinctions and animoſities be annihilate; and the union of the two kingdoms be rendered compleat, by making the Scottiſh ſubjects indiſtinguiſhable from the Engliſh; both in face and accent.

——Vale! ſi quid noviſti rectius iſtis
Candidus imperti: ſi non, hic utere mecum.

HORAT.

FINIS.